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AN ESSAY

ON THE NATURE OF COLONIES,

AND THE

Conduct of the MOTHER-COUNTRY towards them.

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NATURE

OF

COLONIES, &c.

AT a time when one of the moſt important concerns that ever merited the attention of the Britiſh parliament, a concern in which the rights and privileges of millions of our fellow-ſubjects are at ſtake, ſeems on the point of being ſcrutinized and determined by that auguſt aſſembly; the cool and impartial will perhaps not think the few moments mis-ſpent which may be beſtowed upon the peruſal of the following reflections concerning Colonies in general, written by that truly patriotic philoſopher, the

MARQUIS of MIRABEAU, long before any diſpute aroſe between us and our American Colonies; and conſequently at a period which neceſſarily exempts them from even the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion of prejudice in regard to our preſent unhappy miſunderſtandings. A deſire to rectify ſome things which he thought wrong in the conduct of the French miniſtry with reſpect to their Colonies, and to ſet truth and juſtice in their proper light, was the only motive that drew from him theſe genuine dictates of an enlightened mind and upright heart. His ideas of commerce are indeed very different from the maxims which we purſue; but even here too the unbiaſſed reader is deſired only to let equity and reaſon decide how far he is right.

This noble writer, than whom few have ever better deſerved the glorious appellation of "the friend of mankind," *L'Ami des Hommes*, which is the title he has given to one of his highly-valuable works, and from the third volume of which, printed in the year , the ſubſtance of his meaning will here be given oftener than his words, expreſſes himſelf to this effect, ſpeaking,

I. *Of*

I. *Of Antient Colonies.*

If we conſider the origin of mankind, it muſt appear evident that they extended themſelves by Colonies. The wandering paſtoral life of the firſt ages could ſuit men only when they were few in number, and had plenty of land to chooſe for feeding their flocks and herds. Population increaſing by degrees, men were induced to ſingle out the moſt fruitful ſpots, and to apply their induſtry to paſture or arable, as beſt ſuited their reſpective views. Different climates and various wants gave riſe to many inventions; and as the human ſpecies multiplied in ſettled places, young ſwarms were ſent off to ſeek for new habitations; carrying with them only the knowledge they had acquired of providing for their ſeveral wants: but in other reſpects they were perfectly free. When, afterwards, men were become numerous, fugitives or ambitious chiefs led forth parties, who either poſſeſſed themſelves of yet uncultivated countries, or rather, ſword in hand, founded new cities, or made ſettlements, entirely independent of the mother-country. Such was the eſtabliſhment of the Trojans in Italy: ſuch was

origin of Carthage, which acknowledged Tyre for it's ſource: Marſeilles ſtill claims it's origin from the Phocæans; and Greek colonies peopled Ionia, and that part of Italy which was then called the greater Greece. Theſe later colonies carried with them the arts, then arrived at a great degree of perfection, together with a knowledge of government, and a fœderal union ſubſiſted long between the colonies and the mother-country; but there was no acknowledgement of any manner of ſubjection. Even the larger iſlands in the Archipelago were independent; as appears evidently from Homer's account of them. They maintained a mutual friendſhip and intercourſe; but no inſtance remains in antient hiſtory of their ever giving up their moſt abſolute liberty and independence, even on the mother-country. The ſettlements which the Romans made in the contries they had conquered were not colonies, but bodies of the military ſettled among them in their ſtrongeſt places, thereby to ſecure the obedience and ſubjection of the vanquiſhed nations.

II. *Of the European Colonies.*

The invention of the mariner's compaſs opened new ſcenes, and a new world to be explored by the reſtleſs minds of men. The firſt Europeans who paſſed into America were not coloniſts, but, which is the worſt of all, inhuman robbers and murderers. The inſatiable thirſt for gold was the only object of theſe firſt adventurers.

The new world, whoſe inhabitants were moſtly free, is now divided, more indeed in their wiſhes than in reality, between four European powers: the Spaniards, eſtabliſhed on the ruins of the two great empires of Mexico and Peru; the Portugueſe, who hold a great and rich province in South America; the Engliſh, who extend themſelves along the coaſt of North America, and poſſeſs ſome Weſt India iſlands, as do likewiſe the Dutch; and laſtly the French, formerly the maſters of North America, and now of ſeveral Weſt India iſlands. Each of theſe nations follows in theſe new eſtabliſhments the manners and form of it's government in Europe.

The Spaniard, ever immutable in his prejudices, becauſe pride is their foundation, and pride is always ſelf-ſufficient; the Spaniard, who of all men has retained moſt of the vices as well as of the virtues of the ages of ignorance, obeys and commands with haughtineſs, makes his dignity conſiſt in idleneſs, knows no riches but gold, nor any other uſe of gold than pomp and oſtentation. He ſcorns to bend towards the earth that feeds him, and forces ſlaves to bury themſelves in her bowels, to tear from thence the object of his cupidity: true Mogul of America! he has done with the ſword what he might have done as effectually by the form of his government. He has laid waſte immenſe countries, he reigns over deſart lands, which coſt him no other care than that of forbidding their entrance to ſtrangers: terrible maſter and faithful ſubject, he attracts inceſſantly the inhabitants of his old country, and in exchange for them ſends her thoſe treaſures, of which ſhe is only the momentary keeper.

The Portugueſe, a precarious power, and which has nothing of ſovereignty but independence, is in America what he is in Europe, with reſpect to conduct and government.

vernment. He digs in the mines of gold and quarries of diamonds, evades prohibitions, tranſgreſſes the limitations of the Spaniards, and draws from them gold-duſt, &c.

The Engliſh, the moſt enlightened of all the Europeans in their conduct in the new world, are however there, as in their own country, a compound of two principles ſo oppoſite in their nature, that it will ever be impoſſible to unite them in one point, and their mixture will devour all ſociety, as it will at laſt deſtroy the nation itſelf, if one of thoſe two principles does not finally overpower the other; I mean the love of liberty, and that of riches. Of theſe two principles, the firſt is enlightened, though often impetuous; good is its object, though it ſeldom knows how to ſtop at the line of poſſible good, which is the only real good: it holds forth inceſſantly to man the rights of equality, of juſtice, in ſhort of humanity. The ſecond, on the contrary, always blind, is an inſatiable rage, whether it ſmothers or lets looſe its fury: it ſticks at nothing; nothing can terrify it; it's only object is ſucceſs, *rem, quocunque modo rem.* Cupidity ſaw the noble and virtuous prejudices fall, only to ſubſtitute in their

places

places the vileſt paſſions. Does ſhe ſerve any one? ſhe lends at uſury. Does ſhe afford aſſiſtance? ſhe makes it be dearly paid for. She knows not how even to defend herſelf, to take revenge, to be cruel in ſhort, but for her own profit. In her hands, commerce is only fraud and violence, policy the buſineſs of a ſpy, ſubtlety, blackneſs, and treachery. Let theſe two movers be compared with theſe ſhort and feeble portraits, and then let any one judge whether the ſprings which they are to put in motion can bear tempering together.

A people whoſe municipal and domeſtic concern is the firſt of theſe two movers, and whoſe exterior and foreign concern is the ſecond, cannot long unite theſe two contraries, without one of the two's prevailing over the other; but yet they do exiſt in the preſent Engliſh ſyſtem, and like thoſe ſubterraneous conflicts of the elements which will one day cauſe moſt dreadful devaſtation, but which, in the mean time, ſend forth vapours which fertilize the ſurface of their abode; one might perhaps aſcribe to them the ephemerid proſperity with which England has aſtoniſhed the univerſe for near a century paſt.

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This compound, defective as it is, preſided over the eſtabliſhment of her Colonies, and the diſcordances which proceed from it appear on all ſides. The ſpirit of liberty and of patriotiſm, which the coloniſts carried from England, accompanied with all it's appendages, has multiplied theſe ſettlements, given them republican laws, councils, parliaments, balanced authorities, varieties even in theſe things, and a ferment or total diſcouragement in the places where the authority is more military than municipal. In the places where the government is ſuch as the coloniſts like, induſtry, commerce, and the arts ſettle as in the moſt flouriſhing towns in Europe: in the countries, on the contrary, where the form of the laws is leſs analogous to the ſpirit of liberty, notwithſtanding the advantages which the ſoil and climate promiſe, population is at a ſtand; every thing is deſerted, or languiſhes without increaſe.

On the other hand, cupidity cramps in every ſenſe, or weakens, thoſe very colonies, for which the patriotiſm of the nation makes ſuch vaſt advances, and continual ſacrifices. The ſea is open to them only on certain conditions, all burthenſome and partial. On the land, ſhe would

make cities contrary to the order of nature, which has preſcribed that the firſt ſettlers ſhould dwell in the fields, that their ſuperfluity ſhould form villages, that theſe ſhould produce towns, and the towns cities: inſtead of this, the inſtitutors, founders, traders, all intereſted, would overthrow this natural order, and begin with erecting cities, ſtaples, magazines, markets, before the fields are inhabited; like the architect who wanted to place all this in the hand of mount Athos, converted into a ſtatue of Alexander.

She then planned them out a ſyſtem in the air, conſiſting of three lines, the triangle of which ſhould include the empire of the new world, and conſequently that of the old. Theſe three lines are, to ſeize in the north all the fiſheries, the true Peru of commerce; in the ſouth, the mines; within land, the peltries; and the whole is to be cloſed by forming neighbouring ſettlements all along the coaſts; a project ſo conſtantly and ſo openly followed, that it looks as if England intended to block up and reduce America by lines of circumvallation.

Since the counſellors of kings have not leiſure to ſtudy the nature of the human

mind, they ſhould at leaſt never loſe ſight of hiſtory and the regiſters of experience, from whence they ſhould draw their reaſoning. They will not find there a ſingle inſtance of a brave and independent people's voluntarily exchanging their liberty for conveniencies which habit had not rendered neceſſary to them. Yet this is the ſuppoſition on which ſome men found their expectation of the ready ſubmiſſion of the Americans.

The Europeans have out-done the antients in matters of colonization, by imagining that they could preſerve an abſolute command over ſubjects ſo very diſtant as are the Americans: but before we examine whether they have acted right or wrong in this reſpect, let us conſider what was the primitive motive in theſe kinds of ſettlements. Curioſity, added to the hope of acquiring immenſe wealth, carried great numbers to thoſe new regions. Whether it was virtue, or the fear of being forced to obey, which wrought upon the firſt Spaniſh commanders in America; certain it is, that they firſt ſet the example of that dependence on the mother-country, which they have not yet broken through; all their ambition being turned to the means of enriching themſelves;

ſelves. The adventurers of other nations, who diſcovered other parts of America, went thither with the ſame views; and the ſovereigns of Europe, ſeeing a king of Spain become alſo king of the Indies, began to comprehend that the dukes of Normandy in former days acted very ignorantly in letting the Hautvilles conquer Sicily for their own account, and that a congreſs aſſembled at Utrecht or Soiſſons, ſhould have determined whether it was fitting to give the kingdom of Jeruſalem to the infant Godfrey. The new adventurers thought no longer of conqueſts, when they found not any ſocieties of men united in the form of empires, and reſolved to diſpute the territory with them; but taking advantage of the facility of the natives of the country, or of their diviſions among themſelves, each man, as ſoon as he arrived, ſat about running over as much ground as he could, always taking poſſeſſion of it in the name of his maſter; and for theſe imaginary limits have battles ſince been fought as *pro aris et focis*. The firſt adventurers, who acquired immenſe provinces for their ſovereigns, could ſcarcely obtain a moment of their royal maſter's attention; and what ſuccours they had from Europe were rather permitted to be taken, than given.

Kings

Kings were then buſied with their own real affairs, carrying on long wars to obtain a town or a bailywick, and cared little about the vaſt acquiſitions that were making for them in the new world.

Here the marquis, continuing his reflections, animadverts as follows

III. *On the Policy of the Europeans in regard to their Colonies.*

In the mean time the ſpirit of commerce increaſed, and the productions of America, however ſuperfluous before, became now abſolutely neceſſary, and the moſt important objects of the trade of Europe. At firſt, it was thought that ſtore-houſes, or fortified factories, ſuch as the nations trading to Africa have on the coaſts of that country, might be ſufficient; but it was ſoon perceived that the beſt American productions required being cultivated, and prepared there for tranſport. For this purpoſe, it was neceſſary to cultivate the land, to build towns, and, in a word, to eſtabliſh and people the colonies in form.

From the aſſemblage of theſe three things, ſo little made to be yoked together, namely, the ſpirit of dominion, that of com-

commerce, and that of population, has been formed a new, and, if I may dare to ſay it, a monſtrous ſyſtem, which conſtitutes the preſent policy of Europe in regard to America. The ſpirit of dominion would embrace a greater extent of country than all the ſubjects now in it could encircle, placing them one by one at ſuch diſtances from each other as only juſt to be heard with a ſpeaking trumpet. It would, moreover, govern the Americans as deſpotically as thoſe who are at the gate of it's capital, or even more ſo. The ſpirit of commerce, the ſoul of which is to deſire every thing for itſelf and nothing for others, looks upon the colonies as the farms of trade, would feed them, cloath them, furniſh them, decorate them at it's own price and according to it's own fancy; have their productions on the ſame terms, permit them and prohibit them as it's own intereſt directs: in ſhort, it would treat the coloniſts as owls are ſaid to treat mice, of which they provide quantities for the winter, and bring them corn to eat, but break their legs, to prevent their going to ſeek for it where they might like beſt. Laſtly, the ſpirit of population feels thoroughly the neceſſity of ſtrengthening and increaſing the colonies; but, cramped in it's liberty by the firſt of it's

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colleagues, and in it's induſtry by the ſecond, it takes only wrong meaſures, the effects of which prove diametrically contrary to it's intention. If it orders, for example, an equal diviſion of the lands, hoping by that means to make four families out of one, it turns out, that inſtead of a ſubſtantial proprietor able to make the moſt of his land, and to advance what is neceſſary for the culture of commodities, moſt of which ſtand in need of being manufactured, there come four or five puny creatures, who ſell the moveables, and leave the ground untilled: if it has recourſe to ſtrangers deſtined to till the earth, theſe ſlaves become merchandiſe, their misfortune increaſes the inſolence of their maſters, and every man on whom nature has beſtowed the ſuperlative bleſſing of a white ſkin, thinks himſelf peculiarly privileged to be idle. In a word, all the arrangements of theſe ſocieties claſh and interfere with one another. Let us try to demonſtrate their diſagreement and inſtability; a demonſtration from which will naturally reſult a proof, that the political paradox, which I laid down in a former part of *L'Ami des Hommes*, far from hurting the pre-eminence and proſperity of Europe, and of each of the ſtates which contend for the ſovereignty

of

of America, would, on the contrary, be the only way to avoid the ſtate of inanition into which the preſent bad ſyſtem will throw them; to people and fertilize that admirable but languiſhing part of the univerſe, and to operate in ſhort the general and particular good of mankind.

Let us begin with the plain and ſtriking inductions which oppoſe the ſpirit of dominion. I ſhall certainly treat them all, as well theſe as the others, very conciſely. Whole volumes might be written upon theſe intereſting matters. I aſk the ſpirit of dominion then, what it intends to do with thoſe immenſe countries which it cannot people, which it can ſcarcely run over, and of which the different parts cannot have any correſpondence with each other, but by the means of rovers, mad in their undertakings, diſorderly in their conduct, faithleſs in their accounts of things, and who, far from carrying into thoſe diſtant regions the lights and manners that might be expected from their education, bring back with them, on the contrary, into their own country, the independence and brutality of the barbarians ſcattered in thoſe foreſts? It certainly is not the object of a wiſe government

ment to reign over deſarts, and to eſtabliſh in them an empire like that of the Grand Signior over the Algerines, and other pirates on the coaſt of Barbary.

The general plan is, to people and ſtrengthen the colonies. Now, I do not aſk, whether an abſolute dependence in the government of a colony, ſuch as that it ſhall not dare to undertake any thing without leave from Europe, nor determine any point without conſulting and deſiring explicit orders from miniſters already ſo overloaded with buſineſs, as to be forced to commit theſe diſtant objects to the care of their ſub-delegates, as matters of detail, howſoever important they may really be; I do not aſk, I ſay, whether this method be quite fit to anſwer the deſired end. Yet this ſubordination is generally made the principal bulwark of dominion againſt the tendency which ſubjects ſo diſtant naturally have to ſhake off the yoke. I believe, however, that there might be a ſurer way: that way would be, to render the yoke ſo eaſy, that it ſhould be courted as a protection, and not dreaded as a ſcourge. There is not, indeed, any other means to ſecure loyalty and affection. You allow that your colonies muſt be peopled and

ſtrengthened: I take it to be with them as with a field which is to be broken up, plowed, manured and ſowed, before any thing can be reaped from it. If therefore you ſend continually to your colonies without thinking of drawing any thing from them; if you give them chiefs of known probity, of manners calculated to inſpire reſpect and conſequently obedience, patient, generous, knowing how to value men, to diſcover and cultivate their talents; if you pay theſe chiefs well, and enable them to maintain a great ſtate without laying any burthenſome taxes upon trade, and ſtill leſs upon the debaucheries and follies of the coloniſts; if you leave them there for a long time with full authority; if, deaf to the complaints and cabals of the worthleſs, who always find abettors in courts, you diſgrace, when theſe chiefs return, thoſe who ſhall have enriched themſelves in their poſts, and reward ſuch as ſhall bring back only the ſcrip and the wallet, you may then ſlumber over details, and be vigilant only to the main ſuccours, and to the choice of the depoſitaries of your authority; your colonies will people and ſtrengthen themſelves of their own accord, with an aſtoniſhing rapidity.

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But, it will be ſaid, this ſyſtem, ſpecious in the theory, would in the practice of it be the direct way to looſen all the links which bind thoſe diſtant parts to the main body, to remove ſtill farther off the relations of the provinces with the capital, and to make of theſe plantations, cultivated with ſo much care, ſtates diſtinct and ſeparate from the mother-country.

So then! we are wheeled round again to that admirable maxim, *divide et impera:* for fear the coloniſts ſhould become too independent, they muſt be kept weak and ignorant, be delivered over to an unſettled government, and, in fine, be habituated to the yoke. Such is ſaid to have been the manner in which Genoa governed Corſica. But granting this mode of proceeding to ſucceed in that point; ſtill you allow the neceſſity of peopling and ſtrengthening the colonies. In effect, they are not ſo ſituated as to remain long your's without theſe precautions, and the only effectual way of putting them in execution is that which I propoſe.

As to the perpetuity of dependence on their part, ought you to believe me if I aſſured you of it? Nay, who can anſwer for your own ſtability? The new world

will certainly ſhake off the yoke of the old one, and it is highly probable that the ſtrongeſt and moſt favoured colonies will be the firſt ſo to do; but as ſoon as one ſhall have ſet the example, all the others will follow it. In vain would our ſhallow-pated politicians both of London and of Paris exhauſt themſelves in ſpeculations to hinder this event: what they will do to prevent it, will haſten it's accompliſhment. This writing will laſt, I hope, longer than I ſhall; and I conſign to it this prophecy, which indeed I am not the firſt that has made: but I conſider this defection in a quite different light from that it appears in to our ſtateſmen of theſe days, and think that the nation, to which its colonies ſhall firſt play truant, will be the happieſt, if ſhe knows how to conduct herſelf according to the circumſtances of things. She will thereby get rid of a great deal of care and expence, and gain powerful brethren, ever ready to aſſiſt her, inſtead of ſubjects often burthenſome.

But this alternative is no longer left to our (the French) option; the Engliſh chooſe to run the riſk of it: their principal colonies are, at leaſt very nearly, ſiſters to their mother-country; and if they act

act as ſuch, they will ſoon have ſwallowed us up, if we do not encounter them with the ſame arms. Let us then reinforce our colonies; at leaſt, if the worſt ſhould happen, and the defection of America ſhould be general, the nations of Europe which ſhall have eſtabliſhed the greateſt number of their brethren in the new world, will have the beſt-founded right to the gratitude and co-fraternity of the inhabitants of this new theatre of mankind; and it muſt be acknowledged, that in this reſpect we have an advantage ariſing from the nature of the Frenchman, who, in all climates, in all places, and in all ſituations, keeps his eye conſtantly fixed upon his native country. This event would not be a diſgrace to it.

Speaking

IV. *Of the Commerce of the Colonies,*

In that other excellent work of his, *Philoſophie Rurale*, tom. III. p. 223, the Marquis of Mirabeau delivers his ſentiments to the following purport:

The commerce of the colonies is now a bone of contention between the nations who hunt after excluſive means of enrich-

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ing their merchants. This trade turns chiefly on the exchange of the articles of the growth of climates extremely different from one another. Nothing is ſo contrary to natural order, as the conditions on which the powers of Europe grant their protection to their colonies. They are debarred from having any commerce with Europe, except with the mother-country; which amounts to an order, that they ſhall buy at the deareſt price, and ſell to the leaſt advantage. We are told, that the commerce of the colonies of a kingdom muſt be viewed in a different light from the reciprocal commerce between nation and nation, or between the different provinces of the ſame nation, becauſe it is by this trade that the Sovereigns draw a revenue from the colonies, whereby the colony becomes profitable to the mother-country. For this reaſon they are forbid to trade with any other nation for whatſoever the mother-country can furniſh, or to ſell their own productions to any other people; and thus, both their imports and their exports are charged with duties which yield a revenue to the Sovereign. All this cloaks a monopoly equally diſadvantageous to both ſides; for what is carried to the colonies is ſold at an extravagant pro-

ſit, and the colonies are of courſe neceſſitated to ſell their productions equally dear. The merchant winks at this; knowing that he can be reimburſed the high price by both parties. The reaſoning here certainly is erroneous; it being well known to all nations that they loſe by every trade in which the *imports* exceed the *exports*. It is true indeed, that an individual may enrich himſelf by a trade which impoveriſhes the nation. The mother-country is made to believe, that the exceſſive charge on the goods ſold is paid by thoſe who buy them, and that the merchant's profits are her gain, becauſe they centre with her. The better to hoodwink her on this head, it is proved to her, that for fifty thouſand pounds-worth of goods carried out to the colonies, an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds-worth is brought back; whilſt, in reality, it is ſhe herſelf that pays the whole difference: but this ſecret ſhe is never let into. She only ſees, that the merchant carries out but little, and brings back a great deal, without diſcerning that the whole addition is at her expence. The merchants who vend theſe importations make great fortunes, appropriated to themſelves; whilſt it is thought that their profits are added to the common ſtock; and that the wealth which they

acquire

acquire is the nation's, eſpecially if ſtrangers contribute towards it; though the whole is in reality furniſhed by ourſelves. Theſe fortunes, we are told, remain in our country, and increaſe our quantity of national wealth. But why do we not think the ſame of the immenſe fortunes got by cheats, extortioners, uſurers, ſtock-jobbers, which alſo remain in the country? It is, becauſe the former are got by trade, and we are prejudiced in favour of trade carried on by our fellow-citizens, even though that which is conducted by foreigners ſhould be more profitable to us. However, foreigners will not loſe by one branch of trade with you what they cannot gain by another, and if forced to go without your ſugar, they will eat honey. Upon inquiry it will be found, that our merchants gain nothing from foreigners but what they make our colonies loſe, and what we ourſelves loſe by confining the competition to ſo few hands. Thus trade neceſſarily falls into the clutches of monopolizers, who enrich themſelves at the expence of the nation. We charge ourſelves, in fact, with the duties which we think we draw from the colonies, in the diminution of price for what we ſend to them. Beſides, we are obliged to purchaſe productions from foreigners,

reigners, in return for the ſugar they buy of us. Now, is not ſugar liable to the ſame laws as all other commodities? and if we did not ſell it ſo dear to them, would not they buy more of it from us? This greater conſumption would occaſion a greater production, with a more extenſive trade; and, which is ſtill more important, would increaſe our colonies, the conſumption of their productions, and the number of ſellers and of ſubjects.

It is univerſally acknowledged, that all wiſe nations ſhould repeal every law which grants particular privileges or prohibitions, ſeeing that they both tend to a direct monopoly, and therefore are always prejudicial to the general good. They are indeed contrary to the natural rights of every ſubject, and the remains of barbarous times, when privileges were neceſſary to allure men, accuſtomed to arms and the chace, to the purſuit of ſedentary occupations, and of ſuch buſineſs as required a commercial exactneſs.

Let us run over the different rates eſtabliſhed in the ports of all the nations of Europe: let us trace out the beginnings of this abſurd and wicked ſcience, which

ſoon pervaded the whole univerſe, to the great detriment of every people: let us ſeek in treaties the monuments of the labours and artifices of politics, to turn to it's advantage this deceitful means of excluſive proſperity: let us ſee in the ſtates of the finances of kingdoms this nett produce of barbariſm and of the oppreſſion of civilization and liberty: this immenſe collection, this arſenal of ſhafts darted forward and backward againſt humanity in general, would be but a ſmall ſpecimen of the numberleſs obſtacles which the excluſive ſpirit of intereſt has ſpread over the face of the earth, to cramp induſtry and the neceſſary communication between men, which is the eſſence of commerce. Would not one think that we live in the days of robbers and barbariſm, when force and neceſſity were the only laws; with this difference, that the little fiſh have been ſwallowed up by the great ones, which having divided the pond amongſt themſelves, each domineers in his own diſtrict, and will not ſuffer any to fatten there but ſuch as live under his protection, and which he is ſure to devour ſooner or later, according as his appetite or occaſions may require.

Even

Even if the device of laying a duty upon any kind of merchandize that one would diſcourage, were as refined and ſure as it is flimſy and defective; every ſtateſman ought to have rejected it, as a thing which could not be a ſecret, nor operate excluſively. You lay on impoſts here, it is returned to you elſewhere: induſtry loſes on all ſides; but the greateſt diſadvantage is to that of the two nations which is readieſt to give out, moſt obſtinate to conſume, and whoſe induſtry is of the leaſt abſolutely-neceſſary kind. From this inconteſtible principle, let any one judge whether we gain more than others by this deſtructive method.

External commerce ſhould be put upon the ſame footing as the dealings carried on from one part of the nation to another; and in this view it will appear to be the intereſt of every kingdom, that it's neighbouring nations ſhould derive all poſſible advantage from their land and their induſtry: and as commerce is incompatible with every obſtruction, general induſtry and labour ſhould be encouraged. The firſt care of a wiſe miniſter ſhould therefore be, to ſet commerce and induſtry free from every impediment, which blind

cupidity or the abuſe of power, have incumbered them with.

Many of the obſtructions to trade were eſtabliſhed, even in the ſame kingdom, at the time when, during the power of the great vaſſals, the territory of each puiſſant lord ſeemed a diſtinct ſtate, and each had it's ſeparate privileges: but now, that the power of general laws reaches over the whole kingdom, theſe diſtinct privileges ſhould undoubtedly be aboliſhed. From different parts of the ſame ſtate, the like policy extended to different kingdoms; and on a cool examination it will appear to be as much the intereſt of different kingdoms to get rid of thoſe obſtructions to commerce, as it is to any particular ſtate. If the barriers of every country were ſet open, each would receive great gain from the tranſport of merchandize from one part to another, beſides the real benefit of eaſily exchanging the materials of the growth or manufacture of one country for thoſe of another. This would be extending the rights of hoſpitality even to matters of commerce, and would undoubtedly redound highly to the reputation of the country which ſhould firſt ſet the example. A prince of this turn of mind would propoſe

propoſe to his neighbours, and eſpecially to thoſe whoſe induſtry is their principal ſource of wealth, a treaty of mutual fraternity, importing a total abolition of every duty of entrance on both ſides upon whatever ſhould be brought in ſhips belonging to either party; extending this agreement to all who would join in it. No articles, even of manufacture, ſhould be excepted; for in a ſtate thus regulated, no other people would be able to vie with it in the price of ſuch manufactures as it's ſoil and climate are fit for.

The ſyſtem of the univerſe is changed: the whole world is known, and the irruptions of barbarians are no longer to be feared; unleſs the wretched ſyſtem of excluſive right, which is now made the baſis of commercial ſpeculations, ſhould lead the poliſhed nations reciprocally to weaken one another, till ſome chieftain of robbers ſhall again lay waſte the preſent theatre of human proſperity, as hath heretofore happened to great empires. There is, indeed, little appearance now of ſuch a revolution; and if our views in matters of trade and intereſt are confined, it is becauſe they are yet new, and little underſtood: but it is to be hoped that men of enlarged minds, fraught with a gene-

a generous good-will towards all mankind, will ſoon ſtep forth, and ſet theſe points, as well as the abſolute expediency of a general fraternity, in their true light.

In all times, commerce and the empire of the ſea have raiſed the poſſeſſors of them much above their natural ſphere: but the warlike nations, always ſure to deſtroy their trading rivals by attacking them at home, could ſtifle commerce, and make the empire of the ſea paſs into the hands of power, till, baniſhed from them by effeminacy, the conſequence of too great proſperity, it ſhifted to other nations, to reign anew by their ſucceſs. Thus, the trade of the Tyrians lives only in the memories of men, for their having dared to brave a conqueror. Carthage, which covered almoſt the two worlds, diſappeared, and in it's fall dragged down with it the commerce of the univerſe. Alexandria, by it's ſituation and other advantages, became the emporium of the world, and is now a heap of ruins; owing to it's being in the way of a people whoſe ideas reached not beyond conqueſt and oppreſſion. Commerce now wears a different face: it is divided; from whence we may conclude, that every circumſtance relating to it will undergo a change. The

empire

empire of the ſea will indeed always command the balance. The poliſhed nations are ſo ſenſible of this truth, that each endeavours to wreſt it from it's rivals. The Spaniards, whom Providence deſtined to ravage the new world, had ſcarcely got poſſeſſion of the empire of the ſea, when a handful of their own ſubjects diſputed it with them with an aſtoniſhing courage, and accompliſhed their undertaking, with a ſucceſs which ſurpaſſed even their hopes. Theſe favourites of induſtry, become high and mighty, ſoon ſaw their neighbouring iſlanders follow their example, and make cruel war upon them in time of peace, with only the daſh of a pen. Holland felt the full weight of the blow, and a moſt bloody war would have decided which ſhould be miſtreſs of the ocean, had not France interpoſed, and, by raiſing in the two rivals a jealouſy of her power, united them in intereſt, to guard againſt her ambitious deſigns. The Engliſh now claim the maſtery of the ſea; and this object leads them into expences greater than they can afford, and keeps them in a ſtate of contradiction which muſt in the end be their ruin. The union of two or three powers, who knew rightly how to apply their force, would embarraſs them much, and reduce them

to that rank which they ſhould think themſelves happy to bear in Europe.

We may infer from the above, that Europe is not now in danger of barbarous nations, and that her greateſt peril at preſent ariſes from effeminacy and luxury; ſcourges which have by turns ruined many nations. The new world however offers to exiled humanity the ſame advantages as it enjoyed in the old; and if men continue to purſue the ſame barbarous policy which they now practiſe, a day will come when it's divided people, as little inſtructed by our misfortunes as we are by thoſe of the countries in which the famous warriors of old engaged in well-fought battles, will diſpute with bloody rage the furs of her deſarts.

On the ſubject

V. *Of Taxing the Colonies,*

In order to raiſe a revenue from them, the enlightened author from whom the foregoing remarks are taken, expreſſes himſelf to this effect:

Is

Is it of advantage to the Coloniſts, that, through the monopoly of our merchants, foreigners give an advanced price for the productions of the Colony? Would it not be more profitable to them to enjoy themſelves the proper value of their productions, and to favour the ſale of them by a more moderate price, which would at the ſame time bring them in more, eſpecially with an unlimited freedom of trade which would procure them a competition between the merchants of all nations, who would carry them whatever they wanted, and purchaſe their ſuperfluities? Is not the caſe the ſame with colonies as with all other countries? But, it will be replied, it is only by means of our excluſive trade with them that the mother-country is profited in the ſale of what ſhe ſends to them, and that the revenue of the ſovereign is raiſed on their productions. Let us examine theſe poſitions; beginning with the duties laid on the productions of the Colonies.

The foundation of the revenue of a prince is, the wealth of his ſubjects. What is a colony, but a province, which ſhould enjoy every privilege that any other province does; and contribute to the public income in the ſame manner as

the reſt, by a ſtated ſhare of the net produce, land-tax, or quit-rent?* It ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges, that it may proſper, increaſe in wealth, in population, and in contribution. The progreſs of a colony depends on the culture of it's territory, and on this depends it's net produce, in which the ſovereign ſhould be co-proprietor with the poſſeſſor of the land: for here colonies are to be diſtinguiſhed from ſimple factories without territory, in which the trade is carried on by companies who have excluſive privileges, who enrich themſelves by a monopoly which they exerciſe upon natives and foreigners, and which ſhould ever be avoided.

It will be objected to this, that the colonies muſt be well eſtabliſhed before they can thus contribute. 'Tis true: but if the climate is favourable, and they enjoy full and entire freedom of trade, it will not be long before induſtry will prompt

* If we tax the Americans with a view only to their external expences, they ſhould, like Ireland, enjoy the privilege of raiſing that tax in any way moſt agreeable to themſelves. If we tax them with a view of making them pay a ſhare of the enormous charge on the revenue of Britain, we ſhould, in juſtice, grant them every privilege in commerce, as was done to Scotland at the union.

the coloniſts to cultivate the ſoil: whereas, if, inſtead of waiting a little, you prefer the enjoyment of the preſent hour, you will diſcourage the colony, injure the mother-country, and perhaps be forced to levy the revenue upon trade. Conſider but a moment; the coloniſts muſt begin with diſburſing, and their diſburſements muſt be recovered before they can receive any profit from their land: and is it not juſt that the treaſury ſhould wait till they do receive a neat produce? Here again I may be told, that, even in a deſart, hunting and fiſhing may produce articles of commerce; and aſked, whether the king ought not to receive ſome contribution from them? I anſwer, no; for theſe are given in exchange for the firſt productions of the earth, and by that means begin a commerce which will help to enliven the colony. New colonies can concur in the ſupport of government only as they increaſe in population and wealth.

So ſoon as there are in a country men in different ſituations, huſbandmen, artiſans, merchants, there is wealth; for there is then an exchange between the workmanſhip of the artiſan, for inſtance, and the productions of the huſbandman;

and theſe exchanges are regulated by the ſaleable value of the compenſation, which value is expreſſed by ſome common meaſure repreſented by writing, by pieces of money, or by ſome other mark mutually agreed on. By this means the ſaleable value of every thing exchanged is ſpecified by tale or meaſure; and it is theſe determined prices which denote the quantity of riches in goods which each poſſeſſes, and of which he makes uſe for his ſuſtenance, his other wants, or his conveniencies and pleaſures. Then, every thing that is thus of uſe has a value of exchange; and whatever has that value, is wealth. Thus, men aſſembled together in a fruitful country, with ſecurity and liberty, ſtand in need of none but themſelves to form riches there, to increaſe and perpetuate them. If their commerce extends to other nations, it facilitates the increaſe of their wealth only by a greater certainty of ſale, by inſuring to their productions a more ſtable and more equal ſaleable value: for in other reſpects, this foreign commerce, which ſhall be reciprocal, will not ſupport itſelf on either ſide but by ſucceſſive production and conſumption. Wealth has therefore no other origin, nor any other exiſtence amongſt men, than production, exchange, and enjoyment by men

men themſelves. But theſe men muſt have effects in advance to eſtabliſh themſelves in a deſart country: for it is neceſſary that they ſhould be able to provide for their food and other wants whilſt they are preparing the earth and waiting for the crop. This indeed is neceſſary wherever freſh land is broken up; and ſuch uncultivated places even in the midſt of a kingdom may be looked upon as colony-lands; at leaſt till they are ſettled by people who can afford the expence of improving them. A nation in this uncultivated ſtate ought not to think of forming colonies in diſtant countries, nor deceive herſelf in regard to the forms of colonies which ſhe forces to become monopolies againſt herſelf. In ſhort, a man who has not wealth in advance ſufficient to improve waſte land, and to wait till it can yield a profit; who has not a full liberty of ſale, and a choice of culture; acts very imprudently if he ſets about it. Colonies are nothing more than breaking up of new lands. Thoſe which in antient times increaſed and proſpered, left to themſelves, and not accountable to any man, grew by little and little, throve by labour, became complete ſocieties, and ſome of them great empires.

Modern

Modern colonies enjoy greater natural advantages; firſt, in the perfection of navigation, to which they owe their birth, and which at once eſtabliſhes the branches of their intercourſe with formed ſocieties, and gives a ſaleable value to their productions, which have been generally ſuch as nature does not admit the cultivation of in Europe, but are become neceſſary to it; and ſecondly, by the adoption with which the principal nations have profeſſed to favour them, and in conſequence of which they are induced to be at the expence of ſettling and helping them on. But we ſhould wait till their improvements are completed, before we demand our re-imburſement, and not turn their condition into a kind of ſlavery.

The colonies, ſay many, ſhould conſume the articles raiſed by the mother-country. This is equally tyrannical and abſurd. Muſt then the colonies neither plant nor ſow ſuch articles as grow in the mother-country, nor receive them from any one but her? Is not this treating them like a people enſlaved by robbers? Is it not treating them like enemies? If we look upon them as provinces of the ſame kingdom, do we not know that each province ſhould be rich in itſelf, and in it's own

own ſtock, for it to be able to contribute to the proſperity of the ſtate? Do we not know, that every country is peopled in proportion to it's wealth, and that it retains that wealth by the conſumption which it's inhabitants make of the productions raiſed by themſelves? Our motive in ſelling to the colonies ſhould be the ſame as in all other ſales, the advantage of finding conſumers. The leſs we enhance the price, the more they can conſume, and the more they can give in return of their productions at a leſs price; and the more they raiſe, the greater will be their net produce and contribution. But, will it be ſaid, the ſale of their productions will not at this rate be to us: our rivals in navigation and trade will carry to them the commodities of Europe at a cheaper rate, and will give a higher price for theirs. Is it then the profit of the retail that we are to fear the loſs of? Let us conſider what is moſt to the general advantage of the kingdom. If agriculture and manufactures are encouraged by us, as they ought to be, no interloper can ſerve them cheaper than we can. In this caſe too, the ſkill and intrepidity of the ſailors will be in our favour.

The

The mother-country only ſhould profit by the ſale of the productions of her colonies, ſay the advocates for the preſent mode of managing them. Let us conſider, that there can be no conſiderable trade but between fruitful countries and rich inhabitants; that the price of every commodity is fixed by the general price between trading nations; that it is upon this price that each nation regulates what productions it ſhall cultivate; and that in the whole of this there is no occaſion for either police or rules. Let the trade of our colonies be upon the ſame footing as that of the mother-country; that is, let the ſaleable value of the productions of the provinces be the higheſt that it can in the general competition. In this caſe, we ſhall ſoon perceive that the more of any kind of trade our colonies carry on, the more they will flouriſh, the more they will conſume, and the more they will be able to contribute to their own defence.

As we have not conſidered our colonies as factories enjoying excluſive privileges, it may perhaps not be amiſs now to enquire a little into our Eaſt-India company, viewed in that light.

The

The example of ſmall ſtates, who have procured themſelves a brilliant ſituation by trade, and amongſt whom aſſociations of merchants have been ſucceſsful in eſtabliſhing factories at the extremities of the world, in order to bring from thence commodities which would bear carriage, and eſpecially ſuch as bid faireſt to excite curioſity or pleaſe the fancy, has ſince induced great nations, in theſe times of over-fondneſs for trade, to think of imitating them. They will not ſee, that, in that which ſat them the example, the profit of the merchant is the profit of the ſtate; becauſe the ſtate itſelf is only an aſſociation of merchants, who draw their profit from other ſtates rich in productions, to which they ſell their importations. Such companies eſtabliſhed in great kingdoms, are alſo in it ſmall ſeparate ſtates, whoſe buſineſs of retailing India goods has no ſort of connection or concern with the natural commerce of the country, nor with the intereſts of the nation; which, in regard to ſuch privileged aſſociations within itſelf, is always a loſing buyer, and never gains by it's ſales. They become more prejudicial to the nation than foreign aſſociations of the ſame kind can be; becauſe, by obtaining of the ſtate excluſive privileges, they form in the

nation, againſt the nation's ſelf, a rigorous and inhuman monopoly. All ſuch privileged national aſſociations ought therefore to be looked upon as troops of enemies to the nation, who deem a competition by ſmuggling a crime, and who exerciſe the horrors of monopoly, oppreſſion, ſlavery, and murder.

One of our moſt injudicious ſteps in matters of commerce is, to believe that it is profitable to us to exhauſt ourſelves in endeavours to have alſo our factories and magazines of merchandiſe in the Indies. If our mercantile neighbours ſell us what they go ſo far to fetch, it is a ſure proof that they buy of us what grows under our feet and upon our own ground. Let us not forget, that to think of ſelling every thing is a chimæra: let us rather ſtudy to be buyers, for that will ſhew that we have a great deal to ſell. Why have we not the underſtanding of a good huſbandman, who does not heſitate to purchaſe the labour of his ſervants, of the workmen who make what neceſſaries he wants, and even of his horſes, in order to obtain good crops of corn, which he ſells to whoever wants it, without troubling himſelf whether it be even to thoſe whoſe labour he has paid

for.

for. Buy well in order to ſell with profit, and ſell with profit in order to buy well. Strangers will do the ſame; for that is the whole of commerce. But be mindful, that it's object is enjoyment, and that enjoyment without luxury increaſes and perpetuates the wealth you wiſh to acquire by commerce. It ſeems to be money that you want to get by trade. Be it ſo: you will gain nothing by that; for, in the natural order of things, in a country whoſe principal fund is in land, money muſt be converted into enjoyment, and enjoyment is wealth. Thus, buying or ſelling of money, and buying or ſelling of merchandize, in trade, amounts to the ſame. How are we to underſtand you then, when you wiſh to ſell every thing, and not to buy any thing? For ſelling is buying, and buying is ſelling.

To ſum up the whole in few words; we ſee that the commerce of property is reduced preciſely to the act of chooſing the exchange, which conſtitutes pure commerce; that mercenary commerce, or the trade of ſelling at ſecond, third, &c. hand, is the buſineſs of commerce, the wages of which add to the price of the merchandize to the loſs of thoſe who pay; that theſe wages, or profits, are always

paid directly or indirectly at the expence of the revenue of the land, and that the buſineſs of commerce is ſo far from being profitable to nations poſſeſſed of land or real property, and which raiſe productions, that it is to ſuch nations an object of expence, which they ſhould ſuppreſs as much as poſſible, firſt, by facilitating the means of ſale and of carriage; ſecondly, by the greateſt competition poſſible of native as well as foreign merchants; thirdly, by ſuppreſſing the too-great number of retailers, who ſerve only to double or treble the price of what they deal in. This ſuppreſſion will be naturally brought about by alluring them into other buſineſs, or habituating them to a country life where they may live with profit and freedom; and, fourthly, by the fall of ſuch manufactures as the going on with cannot be profitable to the nation.

Saving upon the expences of commerce conſiſts in ſelling at as high a price as poſſible at the firſt hand, and in buying of foreigners at as low a price as poſſible; and in always preferring, in domeſtic or foreign commerce, the leaſt expenſive ſervice. By theſe means it is that we may make the greateſt profit poſſible on the

ſale-

ſaleable value of our productions. Hence too it is, that there ariſe between the merchants and the people oppoſite intereſts, which ſhould always be decided by the moſt unreſtrained competition.

Compulſive meaſures having been adopted by our rulers, as, in their opinion, the fitteſt to bring about obedience to our late laws for taxing America; I cannot help adding here a quotation or two more from the above-mentioned writer, tending to confirm the truth of that long-experienced obſervation, that ſimilar cauſes are apt to produce ſimilar effects, or at leaſt, that nearly ſimilar effects may in general be expected from them.

The ruin of Spain under the reign of Philip II, ſays the Marquis, in his *Philoſophie Rurale*, *tome* II. *p.* 54, that great and laſting revolution which has ſo ſtrongly influenced all the events that have ſince happened in Europe, has not been remarked on by hiſtorians with reſpect to either it's cauſes, or it's effects. It has been conſidered ſimply as a conſequence of the diſcovery of the mines of Peru which took away a part of the population of Spain, at the time when thoſe mines, fatal to the inhabitants of the

country

country that produced them, were the only riches of the conqueror, the only ſupport of his dominion, and the only reſource of his unfortunate ſubjects, who baniſhed themſelves from all parts of their native land. Still is it to the gold of Peru that the depopulation of Spain is attributed; whilſt it was in reality that very gold of Peru which upheld the ruins of that monarchy: but that gold has not ſufficed to re-eſtabliſh it, to reſtore the thouſands of millions whom it's imprudent and unjuſt wars, it's chimerical projects and inſatiable intrigues, have ſtripped it of. The arbitrary prince, equally ambitious, graſping, vain and preſumtuous, tranſported all the revenues, all the riches of cultivation of the kingdoms, all the diſburſements, out of his own country, to the very nations which he wanted to ruin. He gave them forces to fight him; and the upſhot of that delirium was, that his ſucceſſors, heirs to a deſolated ſtate and a diſaſtrous policy, ſaw the total degradation of Spain and of it's means, and that deſerted monarchy remained pent up within the boundary circumſcribed and defended by nature.

And again, in p. 73, 74, and 75, dwelling upon the ſame thought, he ſays:

War and it's means are the inſtruments of power, but are not power; far from it. Will men never apply themſelves to know what war is, and how much it's ſucceſſes or miſcarriages influence the ſtate of nations? As to this laſt point, without going very far to ſeek for examples which might be found in all times, ſimilar to thoſe I am going to mention, but which would be leſs preſent before our eyes, let us conſider the theatre of the wars of Flanders. In that long ſeries of bloody ſcenes, what was wanting to the Spaniards to obtain full ſucceſs? Was it good ſoldiers, able commanders, perſeverance, atrocity in war, victories, or even treaſures? Nothing of all that. The tremendous Spaniſh bands maintained and increaſed their reputation in that famous ſchool. The dukes of Parma and Alba, the Spinolas, great men in ſhort in every ſtation, acquired high renown. All the gold of Peru, all the riches of the territory of Spain, ſtill far more precious, were poured in for near fifty years, and ſunk there. At the end of that time the United Provinces, maintained, without knowing it, by the treaſure diſſipated in order to deſtroy them, found themſelves opulent. Spain, better acquainted with the military art than with the politics of war,

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being exhauſted, and at the end of her reſources, could obtain peace from her baſely-treated ſubjects on no other terms than granting them abſolute freedom, and burying in oblivion her legitimate rights, the ſiege of Antwerp, and all the exploits which Strada ſounds ſo high. The ruin of the ſtate and of her people were the lot of the weakened power: her population exceeded the means of ſubſiſtence, and diſperſed; and her enemies, who had not yet formed any regular plan, became ſoon after a nation and a power. Whoever reads Sir William Temple's account of the negotiation at Nimeguen, to put an end to a war in which Holland, almoſt conquered, herſelf refuſed peace; will ſee that cabinet intrigue and addreſs to diſunite and buy off the allies, were the ſole foundations of that treaty. If victories had ſufficed to preſcribe laws to the enemy, there would not then have been occaſion for ſuch refined politics. At the treaty of Ryſwick, after many victories and conqueſts, the conquered dictated the conditions to the conqueror. In fine, after ſixty years of laurels and victories, a few checks received beyond her frontiers brought France, weakened by many ruinous wars, to the very brink of ruin: her numerous armies and her conqueſts

no longer impoſed on her enemies. Why was that? It was, becauſe her expences having annihilated her revenues, France had recourſe to reſources which announced the end of her ſtrength; and when thoſe puny reſources were exhauſted, ſhe offered in vain to receive the law from her neighbours. The ſtate, yet whole, to appearance, was on the point of periſhing all at once, when it owed it's ſalvation, not to victories, but to events unexpected and no way dependent on arms; to the death of a ſingle head, to a change of intereſt amongſt the belligerant powers, and to a court-revolution. Not only victories without power can be no more than military exploits, tranſient in their nature; but, for a long time paſt, it is the policy of Europe which preſides over treaties of peace, and there remain no other monuments of moſt wars, than the records of the bickerings of princes.

If it was neceſſary to add other inſtances of cauſes which have brought about revolutions to which they ſeemed every way inadequate, a very ſtriking one would inſtantly offer in the riſe of the Helvetic liberty, of which the origin ſprang from a father's being commanded to ſhoot an arrow through an apple placed upon the

head of his ſon. This inhuman order raiſed ſuch a reſentment in the minds of honeſt Tell's countrymen, as baffled all the Auſtrian power, though backed with the authority of the imperial dignity.

It might alſo not be foreign to the purpoſe to mention here Lord Clarendon's prudent and judicious obſervation, when, ſpeaking of the commencement of the civil war which deſolated theſe realms, he tells us, that the meaner people, unſupported but by few men of eminence, and none of them verſed in war or military conduct, overſet an eſtabliſhed government ſupported by the nobility and moſt powerful men in the kingdom, ſeveral of whom were well ſkilled in war, and exerciſed in the conduct of it.

Rightly is it obſerved by that ſagacious politician Machiavel, that there are in all governments, certain rights and principles, the full diſcuſſion of which all wiſe miniſters ſhould carefully avoid; conducting themſelves rather prudently, as the circumſtances of the times may point out.

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CONCLUSION.

I ought not to conclude theſe pages without at leaſt hinting at a very heavy national loſs which we are likely to ſuſtain, though we ſeem to think lightly of it; I mean, the loſs of that affection which the Americans formerly bore to this country. They called it emphatically their mother-country, ſpoke of it with the love of children, and ſhewed by their actions that their profeſſions were ſincere: for the ultimate end of all their labours, the great object they had conſtantly in view, was their *coming home*; ſo they expreſſed themſelves: and in fact, hither came all who had acquired conſiderable fortunes; and hither alſo were their youth ſent for education, to the no ſmall advantage of Britain.

What are we to expect, in this ſenſe, from our now favoured fellow-ſubjects, the Canadians? They are French; a people the moſt attached to their own country of any nation in Europe; a people, who, as the Marquis of Mirabeau expreſſes it, ſuiting themſelves to all climates, to all places, to all the occurrences of

life, keep their eyes conſtantly fixed upon their own country.

The Canadians are an induſtrious ſober people, who, encouraged by the ſecurity they have enjoyed in their properties ſince they became ſubject to us, have paid a ſingular attention to the acquiſition of wealth. We may juſtly ſuppoſe that they will ſpeedily become proportionably rich, as they now enjoy the ſame privileges in trade as our own colonies do. Will they not, in this caſe, be as deſirous of returning to France, in order to enjoy their fortunes in *their mother-country*, as the inhabitants of our colonies were to return to Britain?

To render this attachment to France the ſtronger in them, have we not neceſſarily handed it down to their poſterity by eſtabliſhing amongſt them a religion, which, being that of France, and different from our's, will naturally direct them thither, eſpecially for the education of their youth? Thus we ſecure to France the fruits of their and our labour and induſtry; fruits now much more conſiderable than they would have been if the Canadians had remained under the dominion of France; our protection of

trade affording them better and more extenſive markets for their productions, than they formerly enjoyed. The French will thus be doubly benefited by the loſs of Canada; firſt, by ſaving the expence which their bad policy put them to in the government of it; and next, in having all the profits of the Canadian commerce carried to France.

Though I blame our having eſtabliſhed the popiſh religion in Canada, I am far from deſiring that the Roman catholics there ſhould be in any degree perſecuted on account of their faith. When they became ſubject to Britain, the free exerciſe of their religion was ſecured to them, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the laws of Britain. They were undoubtedly informed, that our laws deprive every Roman catholic of the power of holding any place of profit or truſt. They would readily have ſubmitted to this law: and as it is natural for men to wiſh, either from ambitious or lucrative views, to enjoy places of profit and truſt, many of the riſing generation would, for that purpoſe, have become proteſtants; as has been the caſe in St. Chriſtopher's, where, in half a century, ſcarce a Roman catholic family remains. We have acted more generouſly

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to the Canadians, than our predeceſſors did to the French inhabitants of St. Chriſtopher's; for, in order to ſecure to the Canadians the continuance of their religion, we have rendered perpetual the right of their prieſts to the tythe, and granted a power to their religious communities of taking in novices, and of thus perpetually enjoying their eſtates, and of remaining conſtant ſeminaries of popery. But if, inſtead of this, thoſe who had actually taken the vows of their religious orders had been ſecured in their privileges during their own lives, with a prohibition againſt admitting noviciates, there cannot be the leaſt doubt that they would have thought themſelves very happy; and thus, in time, large and well-cultivated eſtates would have fallen to the crown.

The loſs ariſing from the non-exportation of manufactures, to a very conſiderable amount, added to the loſs of a number of ſhips and ſailors proportioned to the diminution of exports, muſt be objects of conſequence to a trading maritime nation. We are told indeed, that this loſs will be inconſiderable, becauſe we can ſhut up their ports in an extent of fifteen hundred miles of a coaſt full of creeks. Our endeavours to ſuppreſs

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ſmuggling in only the Engliſh channel prove how far that ſcheme is feaſible. We forget too that the Miſſiſſippy is in the hands of our enemies, who are wiſe enough to meet our people half-way; and thus, by eſtabliſhing a commerce, which it will not afterwards be eaſy to interrupt, we ſhall throw into the hands of theſe enemies the greateſt part of the trade of North America.

Every judicious politician knows, that the leaſt interruption to the uſual channel of commerce is attended with great danger; and ſuch men have therefore ever been the moſt cautious of meddling with it. The conduct of Sir Robert Walpole and the Pelhams in regard to taxing the Americans, does perhaps as much honour to their judgment, as any part whatever of their adminiſtration. By their prudence in that reſpect, they left this nation and the colonies happy in a mutual union.

We have ſeen how little the proſpect is of our being in the end bettered by the favours we have beſtowed upon the *Canadians*. Let us now ſee what advantages may ariſe from the compulſive meaſures juſt adopted in regard to our ENGLISH COLONIES.

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I ſuppoſe our right of taxing the Americans to be juſt, and that it is unjuſtly they oppoſe the acts of the Britiſh Parliament for eſtabliſhing a taxation on them. I ſuppoſe too that our army may march unmoleſted, there being no power capable of reſiſting, from one end of America to the other. What advantage are we to reap from this ſuppoſed right and power? Will an army force the Americans to cloath themſelves with our cloth, or cram down their throats our tea? Will the exertion of what they look upon as an oppreſſive power induce them to embrace the diſſipated mode of life of a city where many of our really unneceſſary and uſeleſs articles of luxury are conſumed?—No! But we ſhall tax them to an amount which will pay all our expences. From whence are theſe taxes to ariſe? Their trade is interdicted both by themſelves and by us. From whence then is the money to come with which the taxes ſhall be paid? They muſt e'en be taken in kind; and a number of tranſports muſt be employed in importing the articles ſiezed in lieu of taxes. Or, granting that ſome money may be obtained, what price ſhall we pay for it? So long as the preſent diſpoſition remains

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in the Americans, we ſhall loſe the ſale of a thouſand pounds worth of manufactures for every ſhilling of tax. The number of manufacturers who muſt be unemployed, and the conſequent increaſe of the poor's-rate, may become a more convincing proof of our wiſdom, than any thing that might be ſaid beforehand. To that time, therefore, which clears up moſt things, I leave our legiſlators. What they may hear and ſee in their next ſummer's excurſions will perhaps prove a more powerful argument than reaſon, ever ſo well ſupported, can be to a prejudiced mind.

FINIS.

ERRATUM.

Page 2, line 26, *read* in the year 1757.

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